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ABSTRACT

To understand the decision-making process of the new subject "Knowing Taiwan" in the political and historical context of Taiwan, a study collected and analyzed data through qualitative research methods, including content analysis and interviews. Methodology was based on hermeneutics and critical theory. First, meanings were interpreted and ideology was criticized regarding national identity in the new subject in both the curriculum standard and the textbooks through comparison with the ideology in other junior high school subjects. Second, data were collected regarding the political change of Taiwanese society to understand the political and historical context of the controversies related to the new subject. Third, controversies regarding the new subject were collected and analyzed. Finally, to understand committee members' thought further and to examine the accuracy and objectivity of the interpretation, some members were interviewed after the analysis of the curriculum content and political context. Findings suggest that (1) the ideology of "Chinese Identity" has been gradually replaced by "Taiwanese Identity" in curriculum development regarding national identity; (2) because of continuing controversy about Taiwan's relationship to China, curriculum content regarding national identity remains ambiguous; (3) the ideology of "Taiwanese Identity" seems to be basically constructed by the editing committee members' autonomous consciousness based on its legitimacy in current open society in Taiwan; and (4) in the interpersonal process of editing textbooks, decisions regarding the new subject were not only made based on editing committees' personal ideology, but also through arguments, negotiations, and compromises among members with different politics. Contains 50 references. (BT)

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National Identity and the Controversies Regarding the New Subject: "Knowing Taiwan" in the ROC

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National Identity and the Controversies regarding the New Subject: "Knowing Taiwan" in the R.O.C.

Chien-Lung Wang

Abstract

Objective

In 1945, Japan returned Taiwan to China after 50 years of colonial ruling. However, the riot erupted in 1947 because Taiwanese people, mainly the descendants of the immigrants from southeast China in 18th and 19th centuries, were dissatisfied with the corruption of their new ruler, the KMT (Chinese National Party) government form Mainland China. In this conflict, thousands of Taiwanese were killed and the hospitality between Mainlanders and Taiwanese was deepened. In 1949, the KMT government withdrew to Taiwan after failing in the civil war with Chinese Communist Party in Mainland China. In order to maintain political stability and to resist the threat from the P.R.C., KMT government promulgated Martial Law in 1950. Under the Law, the government forbade Taiwanese people's opposing power, the Taiwanese Identity, and the argument of "independence of Taiwan." In this situation, the junior high school curriculums, such as "History," "Geography" and "Civil Education," became the tools to transmitting "Chinese Identity" of KMT government. The contents regarding Taiwan was almost completely excluded in the curriculum.

After the Martial Law was abolished in 1987, the society of Taiwan began to be democratized and the mainlanders lost their political power gradually. In the democratized political context, the new subject titled "Knowing Taiwan" began to appear in the *Curriculum Standard for Junior High Schools* promulgated in 1993, and its textbooks edited by the official committee began to be used by all the first grade students in 1997. However, the new subject arouses serious controversies because of the ambiguity of national identity in Taiwan. Because curriculum development is made of a series of decisions (Walker, 1972) and it's a political and interpersonal process (Gay, 1985), I wonder how the curriculum decisions were to be made and how the curriculum developers deal with the controversies regarding national identity in Taiwan in the curriculum development process of "Knowing Taiwan."

Perspective

Behind curriculum development, there are decisions (Gwynn & Chase, 1970). Curriculum decision-making is a political process. Selections of curriculum objectives, content, and activities are usually influenced by values and politics

(Beauchamp, 1981; Gay, 1985; Goodlad, 1991; McNeil, 1984). It requires special expertise, political awareness, and a continuing dialogue among decision-makers for resolution of value conflicts (Unruch & Unruch,1984). However, the conflicts are not always resolved by following a systematic procedure but by resorting to power (Taba,1962; McNeil, 1984).

What's behind in the curriculum decision-making in the new subject "Knowing Taiwan" in R.O.C.? Reproduction theorists pointed to the role schools played in reproducing the inequities of power of the existing society (Giroux, 1981a). For example, Althusser argues that the state is a "machine" of repression which enables the ruling classes to ensure their domination, and the primary determination in reproducing inequities of power rests with the ideological state apparatus, particularly the school (Althusser, 1972; Giroux, 1981b). Secondly, Gramsci argued that the hegemony refers to a process of domination whereby a ruling class exercises control through its intellectual and moral leadership over allied classes. He also emphasized the role of ideology as an active force used by dominant classes to shape and incorporate the common sense views, needs, and interests of subordinate groups (Giroux, 1985). In short, the curriculum decision-making process of the new subject "Knowing Taiwan" in the R.O.C. was influenced greatly by the ruling power.

Methods

To understand the decision-making process of the new subject: "Knowing Taiwan" in the political and historical context of Taiwan, the data of this study was collected and analyzed through qualitative research methods, including content analysis and interviewing. The methodology was based on the Hermeneutics and Critical Theory.

Firstly, I interpreted the meanings and criticized the ideology regarding national identity in the new subject: "Knowing Taiwan" in both the curriculum standard and the textbooks, compared with the ideology in other subjects of junior high schools. Secondly, I collected data regarding the political change of the society in Taiwan to understand the political and historical context of the controversies related to the new subject. Thirdly, I collected and analyzed the controversies regarding the new subject: "Knowing Taiwan." Finally, in order to gain further thought of the members and to examine the accuracy and objectivity of my interpretation, I will interview some main members after the analysis of the curriculum content and political context.

Findings

From the analysis of the analysis the curriculum content and political context

and the interviews, I found first that because of the change of political power structure in Taiwan, the ideology of "Chinese Identity" was gradually replaced by "Taiwanese Identity" in the curriculum development regarding national identity. After the Martial Law was abolished in 1987 and the former President Chiang Chin-Kuo died in 1988, the society of Taiwan became more and more democratic through series of political movements putting in motion by the opposite party, DPP, composed almost by Taiwanese people. Simultaneously, the new leader of KMT, President Lee Den-Hui with Taiwanese ethnic background, began to ally with Taiwanese political power to maintain KMT's ruling status, and the Mainlanders gradually lost their status in the core of power in KMT. Thus, the ideology of "Chinese Identity" in curriculum content lost its political base and legitimacy. Therefore, based on the new ideology regarding national identity, the "Knowing Taiwan" became one of the subjects for junior high school.

However, since the issue of whether Taiwan should be reunited with or be independent from China remains controversial, and the P.R.C.'s military threat towards the movement of "Taiwan Independence," the KMT government still officially rejects the claim of "Taiwan Independence." Therefore, the ideology of "Taiwan Identity" still can't completely be legitimatized in the curriculum regarding national identity. Some other subjects such as "History," "Geography" and "Civil education" remain insisted on the "Chinese Identity." Thus, the curriculum contents regarding national identity remain ambiguity.

Thirdly, the ideology of "Taiwanese Identity" seems to be basically constructed by the editing committee members' autonomous consciousness based on its legitimacy in current open society in Taiwan. However, since the "Taiwanese Identity" also became the base of new ruling power in KMT, what the students learned from the new subject "Knowing Taiwan" can still enforce the legitimacy of its ruling status. Thus, it is another form of political reproduction, although the ruling government can no longer control the ideologies directly regarding national identity in textbooks for its own political intention.

Finally, in the interpersonal process of editing the textbooks, the decisions regarding the new subject "Knowing Taiwan," influenced greatly by the political circumstances of society in Taiwan, were not only made based on editing committee members' personal ideology, but also made through arguments, negotiations and compromises among members with different political standpoint.

Implications

Based on the findings, the research has the following implications to civil education: Firstly, the new subject: "Knowing Taiwan" was constructed by the

political and historical circumstances in Taiwan. It should be revised soon, because the change of political structure of society made the political ideologies lost its legitimacy. Furthermore, it is necessary to reflect further on whether the government has the power to construct the national identity through the contents "Knowing Taiwan." If so, it is necessary not only to discover the concealed power, to illuminate unreasonable ideology, but also to construct ideal curriculum contents of such a topic without unreasonable ideology.

Secondly, since the decision-making regarding national identity was also influenced greatly by personal ideology regarding national identity, the editing committee members have to reflect on their own political standpoint to avoid unreasonable ideology concealed in the curriculum development process.

Thirdly, in spite of the confusion of national identity in Taiwan, the curriculum members should take the responsibility to clarify the problem to reduce children's confusion. The selection of subject matter with the "Taiwanese Identity" can enhance children's identity with where they live. However, the curriculum group had to face the fact that the tradition culture in Taiwan comes mainly from China. It is important to solve the problem reasonably to reduce the confusion of student's national identity.

Finally, the group members should keep reflecting on the relationship between the "Taiwanese Identity" and the new political power in Taiwan. They have to check the ideology of new ruling power behind curriculum decision-making and not to become the dominant tool unconsciously.

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National Identity and the Controversies Regarding the New Subject: "Knowing Taiwan" in the ROC

Chien-Lung Wang

Introduction

The year 1945 marked the end of World War II and 50 years of Japanese colonial rule of Taiwan. The Chinese central government took over Taiwan in October 1945, but could allocate few resources to its new provincial administration on Taiwan and help the island in its postwar rehabilitation. Poor economic policies by the new provincial administration along with other complex factors created tensions and grievances, which boiled over into a massive riot on February 28, 1947 (Hsiao, 1991). In this conflict, thousands of Taiwanese were killed and the hospitality between Mainlanders and Taiwanese was deepened.

In late 1949, China Kai-shek's forces were defeated by the Communists on the mainland, and he and a large portion of his army and government fled to Taiwan, where they hoped to regroup and counter-attack. Taiwan absorbed more than a million and a half people at a time when the economy was faltering and social conditions were in disarray, which aggravated relations between the Taiwanese and the mainlanders (Copper, 1990). In order to maintain political stability and to resist the threat from the PRC, KMT government promulgated *Emergency Decree* in 1950. Under the law, the government forbade Taiwanese people's opposing power, the Taiwanese Identity, and the argument of "Taiwan Independence." In this situation, the junior high school curriculums, such as "History," "Geography" and "Civics and Morality," became the tools to transmit "Chinese Identity" of KMT government. The contents regarding Taiwan was almost completely excluded in the curriculum.

After the *Emergency Decree* was abolished in 1987 and the former President Chiang Ching-Kuo died in 1988, the society of Taiwan began to be democratized through series of political movements putting in motion by opposing party, DPP (Democratic Progressive Party), composed almost by native Taiwanese. Meanwhile, the new leader of KMT, President Lee Teng-hui with Taiwanese ethnic background, began to ally with Taiwanese political power to maintain KMT's ruling status, and the Mainlanders lost their status in the core of power in KMT in 1992. Thus, the ideology

of "Chinese Identity" lost its political base and legitimacy and replaced by "Taiwanese Identity" in the democratizing process gradually. In the new political power structure in Taiwan, the curriculum contents regarding national identity have to be re-interpreted correspondent to the new ideologies of national identity, "Taiwanese Identity," in the democratized society. On the one hand, Taiwanese culture actually originated from Chinese culture. On the other hand, the PRC insisted "One China Policy" and inhibited the movement of "Taiwan Independence" with the declaration of not giving up resolving the "Taiwanese problem" with military force. Therefore, the "Taiwanese Identity" remains controversial in the ROC.

In the democratized political context, the new subject titled "Knowing Taiwan" began to be established in the *Curriculum Standard for Junior High Schools* promulgated in 1994. The textbooks of "Knowing Taiwan" edited by the curriculum committees, organized by the National Institute for Compilation and Translation (i.e. NICT) under the authority of the Ministry of Education, began to be used by 350,000 first grade students in 1997. However, the new textbooks aroused serious controversies because of the controversial political issues in Taiwan about the national identity of the people in Taiwan - whether as Chinese people who shared the same identity with the people on Mainland China or as non-communist Chinese nationalists or as people of Taiwan. There were some tensions between these different identities as people come to terms in different ways with the political realities of the region (Tsai, 1998).

In Taiwan's relationship to China, it is part of a divided nation. But that status is fading much faster than it is in the case of the two Germanies or the two Koreas. Some say Taiwan cannot be called a nation, but they cannot what it should be called. Some say its status could be resolved by dropping the name of Republic of China and using the name Taiwan or some variation; thus it would be a nation. But its legal or political identity problem would persist. Most say Taiwan is a nation—because it qualifies or because there is no suitable alternative (Copper,1990). Because curriculum development is made of a series of decisions (Walker, 1972) and it's a political and interpersonal process (Gay, 1985), I wonder how the curriculum decisions regarding the controversial issue of national identity in Taiwan were to be made in the curriculum development process of the new subject: "Knowing Taiwan."

Perspective

1.The political process of curriculum decision-making

Behind all curriculum development, change, production ,implementation, or design, there are decisions（Gwynn & Chase,1970）. Decisions about the curriculum are often grouped into five major types: (a)"Curriculum goals", (b)"Curriculum content", (c)"Learning experiences" or "Student activities", (d)"Resources", (e)"Evaluation" (Oberg, 1991). Curriculum decision-making is a political process. Selections of curriculum objectives, content, and activities are not often based on studies of content in the discipline, societal needs, learners' learning process, concerns of learners, but usually influenced by values and politics (Beauchamp, 1981; Gay, 1985; Goodlad, 1991; McNeil, 1984). Conflict over what to teach is not just a conflict of ideas but of persons, groups, and factions（McNeil, 1984）. Thus, curriculum development is a complex activity that takes place within a complex political milieu. It requires special expertise, political awareness, and a continuing dialogue among decision-makers for clarification of purpose and resolution of value conflicts (Unruch & Unruch, 1984). However, the conflicts are not always resolved by following a systematic procedure but by resorting to power (Taba, 1962; McNeil, 1984). Those who must resolve the conflicting pressures tend to use the strategy of disjointed incrementalism. Under disjointed incrementalism, conflicts over goals and objectives are not resolved on the basis of principles, logic, and evidence but by political power（McNeil,1984）.

2.The "Re-production Theory" and curriculum development

What is behind the curriculum decision-making regarding "Knowing Taiwan" in the ROC? From the point of view of Structural Functionalism, the contents regarding national identity in curriculum facilitate the function of social integration. However, reproduction theorists pointed to the role schools played in reproducing the inequities of power of the existing society (Giroux, 1981a). For example, Althusser (1972) argues that the state is a "machine" of repression which enables the ruling classes to ensure their domination, and the primary determination in reproducing inequities of power rests with the ideological state apparatus, particularly the school (Althusser, 1972; Giroux, 1981b). Secondly, Gramsci argued that the *hegemony* refers to a process of

domination whereby a ruling class exercises control through its intellectual and moral leadership over allied classes. He also emphasized the role of ideology as an active force used by dominant classes to shape and incorporate the common sense views, needs, and interests of subordinate groups (Giroux, 1985). Thirdly, Mennheim (1991) mentioned about the "total conception of ideology", according to which the thought of all parties in all epochs is of an ideological character. In short, the curriculum decision-making process regarding national identity in Taiwan was influenced greatly by the ruling power in the political environment.

3.The participants in curriculum decision-making

Curriculum development is an interpersonal process（Gay, 1985）. The curriculum development requires continuous cooperation among educational psychologists, sociologists, subject matter experts, educational evaluators, teachers, school administrations, and so on (Haller and Lewy, 1991). Chew (1977) specifies the differential roles of experts in the process of examining the adequacy of objectives, contents, and learning strategies suggested by the editing teams. (a) Curriculum specialists judge the internal consistency of the curriculum plan. (b) Subject matter specialists check the up-to-dateness of curricular field of the specific subject. (c) Educational psychologists examine the learning strategies that will gain the interest of the learner, and also their adequacy to the cognitive and emotional developmental level of the learner. (d) Teachers serve as judges of the quality of the suggested materials.

The teacher's participation in curriculum work has been a positive development in many respects, leading to enhanced professionalism, more effective implementation of programmes, curricula that are more appropriate to local needs, and more control by teachers of their work situations. Nevertheless, there will be limitations on the participation, such as limited training, limited time, mandated curriculum, rationalization and bureaucratization of schooling (Elbaz, 1991).

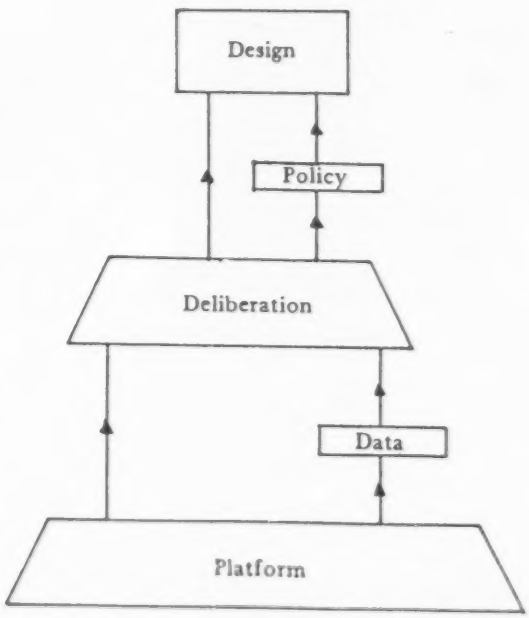
4.The naturalistic model of curriculum development

The descriptive framework of this study is based on Walker's（1971）"naturalistic model" of the process of curriculum development. This model is primarily descriptive （Walker, 1971）. Curriculum problems belong to practical （Walker, 1990）. The rational curriculum models are limited in their ability to

illuminate the process of group curriculum planning because they neglect the political nature of curriculum policy planning (Johnston ,1989) . The role of values and bias is not highlight in the model. (McNeil ,1984) . Schwab who denies that curriculum problems are of such a nature that they can be solved procedurally, and argues that solution of them must be found by an interactive consideration of means and ends. The process through which this is achieved is called "deliberation" or "practical reasoning"(Reid ,1978) .

The "Naturalistic model" consists of three elements: (1)curriculum's platform: the system of beliefs and values that the curriculum developer brings to his task and that guides the development of the curriculum developer; (2) design: the output of the curriculum development, (3) deliberation: the process by which beliefs and information are used to make design decisions. The main operations in curriculum deliberation are formulating decision points, considering arguments for and against suggested decision points and decision alternatives, and choosing the most defensible alternatives. The heart of the deliberative process is the justification of choice, so curriculum deliberations are chaotic and confused.

Figure 1 A schematic diagram of the main components of the naturalistic model (Walker,1971)



Methods

To understand the curriculum decision-making process of the new subject: "Knowing Taiwan" in the political and historical context of Taiwan, the data of this study was collected and analyzed through qualitative research methods, including content analysis and interviewing. The methodology was based on the Hermeneutics and Critical Theory.

Firstly, I interpreted the meanings and criticized the ideology regarding national identity in the new subject: "Knowing Taiwan" in both the curriculum standards and the textbooks, compared with the ideology reflected in other subjects such as "History," "Geography," and "Civics and Morality" for junior high schools. Secondly, I collected data regarding the political change of the society in Taiwan to understand the political and historical context of the controversies related to the new subject. Thirdly, I collected and analyzed the controversies regarding the new subject: "Knowing Taiwan" printed in the newspapers and periodicals. Finally, in order to gain further thoughts of the members and to examine the accuracy and objectivity of my interpretation, I will interview some main members of the editors of the textbooks after the analysis of the curriculum content and political context.

Findings

Before 1993, the curriculum contents of the subjects: "History," "Geography," and "Civics and Morality" for the junior high schools reflected the "Chinese Identity" of the powerful Mainlanders in the ruling KMT government in Taiwan. In the textbooks, the contents regarding Taiwan where Taiwanese people live were limited under the curriculum frameworks whose boundary including whole China. After 1993, the ideology of "Chinese Identity" was replaced gradually by the "Taiwanese Identity," because the Taiwanese people replaced Mainlanders in the core of power in KMT government. Under the new political situation, the new subject "Knowing Taiwan" for the first graders of junior high schools was established in the 1994 edition of curriculum standards. The establishment of the new subject reflected the ideology of "Taiwanese Identity," which coexisted with the "Chinese Identity" reflected in the subjects: "History," "Geography," and "Civics and Morality" for the second and the third graders.

The new textbooks of "Knowing Taiwan" edited based on the new curriculum

standards aroused serious controversies even before they were published formally in 1997, because of the different perspectives toward the ideology of "Taiwanese Identity" in the contents of the textbooks. However, the controversies are not as important as they were in the much opener, more democratized, pluralized and reconciled society of Taiwan in 1999.

1.The "Chinese Identity" and the curriculum contents in the authoritarian era before 1993

The KMT forces were defeated in China's civil war of 1947-1949. Retreating to Taiwan in 1949, they formed a de facto state known as the Republic of China, representing the authority they salvaged from the mainland. For almost four decades they have claimed sovereign jurisdiction over the mainland, which has been under the legitimate control of the Chinese Communist Party (Tien, 1989). For the KMT at that time,, the ruling KMT's main concern was "to recover the mainland." Taiwan was to be the "base." it was important to develop Taiwan, but that was not the party's ultimate goal (Lu, 1991). In this situation, the curriculum for elementary schools and junior high schools became the tools to transmit the ideologies, such as "Chinese identity," "authoritarianism" and "anti communism," of the Mainlanders in KMT who came from mainland China after 1949. Therefore, it was criticized that it was full of authoritarianism, nationalism, and collectivism in the textbooks, which were edited and published by the National Institute for Compilation and Translation for the use of all schools around Taiwan. That is, all the students of the same grade used the same textbooks.

Because the Mainlanders in KMT came from Mainland China and claimed that ROC was the only legitimate government representing China rather than P.R.C., the strong ideology of "Chinese Identity" emphasized the identity to China, but it was far from Taiwan where people actually live. In the 1983 edition of *Curriculum Standards for Junior High Schools,* the first general objective emphasized "cultivating (Chinese) national consciousness." The objectives of the subject "Civics and Morality" emphasized "establishing the foundation for the revive of Chinese culture," "promoting (Chinese) national consciousness," and "developing Chinese excellent culture." The objectives of the subject "History" emphasized "understanding the development of Chinese nation and the change of its territory," "understanding national traditional spirits through knowing our country's long history and brilliant culture." The

objectives of the subject "Geography" emphasized "understanding our country's general geographical environment," and "understanding the establishment in the region of Taiwan to be the geographical foundation for the reunification of China under the Three People's Principle." (Ministry of Education, 1983)

Because of the ideology of "Chinese identity," the relation between individual and the "Nation, China" was emphasized in the textbooks. The proportion of the contents regarding "Taiwan" was small evidently in the textbooks, even in the newer textbooks revised in 1980' based on the 1973 edition of curriculum standards (Yang, 1994). The "Taiwanese Identity," which was inhibited by the authoritarian KMT government, didn't appear in the textbooks during the period. Still the third graders now in the democratized Taiwan use the 1987 editions of textbooks for the junior high schools.

Although the *Emergency Decree* was lifted in 1987, actually, the democratizing process of authoritarian KMT government advanced gradually. In the process, the Mainlanders remained hold the ruling power in the KMT in the initial stage. Therefore, KMT government remained heavily insisted "Chinese Identity" and inhibited the "Taiwanese Identity." In such a political context, the authoritarian ideologies of "Chinese Identity" remained influential when the Ministry of Education organized curriculum committees to revise the *General Guidelines of Curriculum Standards for Junior High Schools* in 1989 and to revise the curriculum standards for every subject in 1991. Therefore, the contents regarding Taiwan remain limited in the drafts of curriculum standards of the subjects for junior high school: "History," "Geography," and "Civics and Morality" completed in 1993, although it had been six years after the abolishment of *Emergency Decree*. And the new subject: "Knowing Taiwan" hadn't been established in the draft of the curriculum standards yet.

2.The rising of "Taiwanese Identity" and the establishment of the new subject: "Knowing Taiwan" in 1993

The foundation of the ideology of "Chinese Identity" in the *Curriculum Standards* was the authoritarian KMT government controlled mainly by Mainlanders. The public agreed with the KMT's anti-communism, though without supporting it as an ideology as strongly as the government does. But the masses in Taiwan had never enthusiastically accepted the government's policy of returning to the mainland. Few had been there; less than 6 percent of the population had seen China (Copper, 1990, 72). Opposition politicians frequently chide the policy of returning to the mainland as being

completely unrealistic and an impediment to democracy. They call for self-determination and argue that the people should determine Taiwan's Future (Copper, 1990, 72).

Political reform in the ROC can be divided into two stages. The first stage began during President Chiang Ching-kuo's later years, and the second, during President Lee Teng-hui's tenure in office. The late President Chiang Ching-kuo focused the political reforms on lifting the restrictions imposed on people's basic rights and freedoms by the *Emergency Decree* and the *Temporary Provisions Effective During the Period of National Mobilization for Suppression of the Communist Rebellion.* Therefore, the people's freedoms of assembly, association, information exchange, and speech were better protected (Hsu, 1994).

President Lee's political reforms can be subdivided into an earlier and later stage. During the earlier stage, in addition to further safeguarding the people's basic rights provided for in the ROC Constitution, President attached much importance to political reforms, including amending the Constitution, readjusting the powers of the central government, and setting up standards for multiparty politics. The emphasis of the later stage of political reform shifted to rectifying political practices and culture(Hsu, 1994).

One important character of the political reform under the President Lee was the "Taiwanization" of the KMT. Over 75 percent of the 2.5 million members of the KMT are native Taiwanese. As for the Central Committee elected at the Thirteenth KMT Party Congress, Taiwanese representation in the body came to 34.4 percent of the total, a higher figure than for the previous Central Committee(19.3 percent). A more significant fact is that in the current Standing Committee, Taiwanese formed the majority. The other aspect of Taiwanization concerns the shift of the general orientation of the party. The KMT still pays lip service to the "unification of China," but its main preoccupation is to develop Taiwan and advance ROC into the ranks of developed nations(Lu, 1991). Furthermore, in the democratization process, President Lee Teng-hui allied with Taiwanese political power to maintain KMT's ruling status and drove the Mainlanders out of the core of power. After the former Prime Minister Hou Po-ts'un left office in 1992, the Mainlanders were forced to withdraw from the core of power in KMT completely (Chien & Wang, 1995).

In the process, the ideology of "Chinese Identity" lost its political base and legitimacy and was replaced by the ideology of "Taiwanese Identity" gradually. In such a new situation, the ideology of "Chinese Identity, " thus, also gradually lost the control power to the revision of the *Curriculum Standards* and the rising of "Taiwanese Identity" led to the establishment of the new subject: "Knowing Taiwan."

The draft of the *Curriculum Standards* was completed in 1993 and would be examined, verified and then promulgated by the Education Ministry. However, the fifth meeting for all of the members of the Committees for Revising Curriculum Standards for Junior High School, chaired by the new Minister of Education Guo Wei-fan, suggested to establish the new subject: "Knowing Taiwan." The resolution of the meeting pointed out: based on the idea of "having foothold in Taiwan, keeping mainland (China) in mind, and taking a broad view to the world," the subject: "Knowing Taiwan" was established for the first graders to fulfill the education regarding native land. This subject was divided into three volumes: the History, the Geography, and the Society of Taiwan, one hour a week respectively, replacing the content of the subjects: "History," "Geography," and "Civics and Morality" for the first graders of the junior high schools (Ministry of Education, 1995).

3. The coexistence of the "Taiwanese Identity" and the "Chinese Identity" in the *Curriculum Standards* promulgated in 1994

When the members with the Taiwanese background replaced the Mainlanders in the core of power in the ruling KMT, the democratizing process of Taiwan continued to march towards the direction of "Taiwanization." The democratized KMT government not only began to claim the independent sovereignty of Taiwan to the international society, but also constructed the conscious of "life community" and strengthened the "Taiwanese Identity" of the people through series of cultural measurements. The KMT government even began to appeal the people with the term of "Taiwanese" just as the opposing party, DPP did. (Chien & Wang, 1995) Under the new political environment, the ideology "Chinese Identity" is rapidly replaced by the "Taiwanese Identity." (The Editorial Board, 1995)

The establishment of the new subject: "Knowing Taiwan" reflected the spirit of such a new political ideology "Taiwanese Identity" actually. For instance, the objectives of "the Volume of Society" point out "reinforcing the understanding of the social environment of Taiwan, P'eng-hu, Kin-men, and Matsu," "cultivating the sentiment of the love to native land and to the nation," and "condensing the consciousness of life community." The objectives of the "the Volume of History" point out that "understanding the history of the ancestors of each ethnicity opening up Taiwan, P'eng-hu, Kin-men, and Matsu." In the appendix, it also emphasized that "the Volume of History" is significant to fulfill the concern to native land, because it is the beginning for the native (Taiwanese) history to be a formal subject for the junior high

schools after the (KMT) government shifted to Taiwan. The objectives of "the Volume of Geography" also point out that "understanding the native geographical environment, to cultivate the sentiment of loving to native land and to country." (Ministry of Education, 1995)

However, the issue of whether Taiwan should reunite with or to be independent from Mainland China remains controversial. Besides, the issue of "independence of Taiwan" still faces the military intimidation from P.R.C., who insists on the "One China Policy." The KMT government still officially announces the policy of reunification with China rather than the policy of Taiwan independence. And the KMT government remains announcing the identity to the geographical, historical, and cultural China, although it no longer insisted that ROC is the only legitimate government representing China. Furthermore, there was ambiguity between "Chinese Identity" and "Taiwanese Identity," because the Taiwanese culture actually originated mainly from China and the relationship between Taiwan and Mainland China is close. Therefore, the "Chinese Identity" remains exist in the *Curriculum Standards*, although the "Taiwanese Identity" had replaced the "Chinese Identity" as the main ideology of the national identity in Taiwan.

Therefore, the establishment of the new subject: "Knowing Taiwan" for the first graders of junior high schools did not mean that the "Taiwanese Identity" had replaced the "Chinese Identity" in the curriculum completely. In fact, "Chinese Identity" remains exist in the subject matters of these three subjects: "History," "Geography," and "Civics and Morality" for the second graders. The subject matters in the "History" and "Geography" for the second graders retain the Chinese History and the Chinese Geography respectively. The subject matters of the "Civics and Morality" also remain emphasize the "Chinese Identity." It showed that the "Taiwanese Identity" and "Chinese Identity" coexisted in the *Curriculum Standards* promulgated officially in 1994 and put into effect in 1997.

For instance, one of the curriculum objectives of "Civics and Morality" points out that "to promote students' basic interests in understanding and appreciating Chinese culture and global culture, making them have the ability of developing our national excellent culture and the attitude of respecting different culture." One of the contents outlines regarding "cultural life" points out "Chinese culture and the reunification of China." It also suggests holding an exhibition for Chinese culture or foreign culture. Two of the "living norms" regarding "patriotism" emphasize "feeling honor of being Chinese" and "treasuring Chinese culture."

In the subject "History," the curriculum contents for the second graders remain

the Chinese history, and foreign history for the third grader. One of the content outlines point out the curriculum contents regarding the composition of Chinese Nation and the change of its territory.

In the subject "Geography," the curriculum contents for the second graders remain the Chinese geography, and foreign geography for the third grader. One of its curriculum objectives emphasized "understanding the relationship between the lifestyle and the geographical environment in our nation, in order to cultivate the spirit of patriotism and love community." The term "nation" in the objective means to "China" basically, because the geography of every province of Mainland China was included in the content outlines.

4.The coexistence of the "Taiwanese Identity" and the "Chinese Identity" in the textbooks published in 1997 and 1998

After curriculum standard for junior high schools was promulgated in 1995, the National Institute for Compilation and Translation (i.e. NICT) began to organize committees to edit the textbooks of "Knowing Taiwan" under the authority of the Ministry of Education. The "Taiwanese Identity" displayed in the textbooks much more concretely in the textbooks than in the curriculum standards.

Firstly, in the textbooks of "Knowing Taiwan," it redefines the status of the nation ROC For examples, in "the Volume of Society," it emphasized that after Lee Teng-hui took up the post of the president of ROC in 1988, the KMT government adopted the policy of "practical diplomacy." The main idea of the policy is not to insist that ROC is the only legitimate government representing China, emphasizing that ROC and P.R.C. are two reciprocal political entities. ROC is a country with independent sovereignty (NICT, 1997b, p.97). Taiwan, P'eng-hu, Kin-men, and Matsu were a substantial "community of destiny," which was called "Taiwan" in the international society (NICT, 1997a, p.6). A whole new Taiwanese society was taking shape here (NICT, 1997a, p.78).

Secondly, in the textbooks of "Knowing Taiwan," it definitely gives the name: "Taiwanese" to the people living in Taiwan. It mentioned that "Taiwanese" had become the common name of the people living in Taiwan in the international society in the end of the 20th century (NICT, 1997a, p.78). It also emphasizes that Taiwanese people inherit the ancestors' lifestyles and living attitudes so called "the spirit of Taiwan." Besides, it emphasizes that Taiwanese was composed of the four ethnicities in Taiwan, including aborigines, Fukien Chinese, Hakkas, and Mainlanders (NICT,

1997a, p.3). However, to distinguish each one's mono-ethnic identification is actually very difficult and is inappropriate, because one Taiwanese person may belongs to different ethnicity simultaneously after the intermarry between ethnicities. And it emphasizes that the term "ethnicity" has a much newer meaning. The "Four Ethnicity" represents the various cultures handed down by the ancestors of the residents today in Taiwan (NICT, 1997a, p.3-5). And it emphasizes that the people living in Taiwan are not transient guests, refugees, and the ruled any more. They follow the common political system and legal norm on the land. They have the same language, written words and living habits. They have the equal status, right and obligation. Thus, They are all the real masters (NICT, 1997a, p.78).

Although the new "Taiwanese Identity" was emphasized in the textbooks of "Knowing Taiwan," the "Chinese Identity" remain exist in the textbooks of "History," "Geography," and "Civics and Morality" for the second graders. However, the "Chinese Identity" was quite different from the "Chinese Identity" in the old textbooks. When the new textbooks of "History" was published in 1998, the committee member Prof. Huang Hsiu-cheng mentioned that the original "the history of our country" was changed to be "Chinese history" and the term of "our nation" in the textbooks had replaced with the "China," in order not to make the misunderstanding: "ROC is China." The reason for the change is to corresponding to the fact that ROC and P.R.C. are governed by different political entities respectively. Thus, to replace the "our nation" with "China" is to distinguish "our nation" with "China." It was criticized that the change will make the international society misunderstand that Taiwan would no longer inherit Chinese history and that Taiwan is no longer China. Besides, such a change may make the children misunderstand that the "Chinese history" is not "our history" (Chu, 1998).

5.The controversies regarding the contents in the textbooks of "Knowing Taiwan" in 1997

The controversies regarding the textbooks of "Knowing Taiwan" erupted when the drafts of the textbooks was completed in March 1997, even before they were published formally. On June 3 1997, the legislator Lee Ching-hua of New Party, mainly composed of the Mainlanders with Chinese identity, held the symposium for the textbooks of "Knowing Taiwan" in the Legislative Yuan. In the symposium, six scholars criticized that the textbooks of "Knowing Taiwan" reflected specific ideology. They criticized that it "eulogizing the era of colonial ruling of Japan," "adopting the

historical perspective of Japanese imperialism," and "filling with the ideologies of not to be Chinese" in the textbooks of "the Volume of History." On June 5 1997, the legislator Lee Ching-hua went to the Ministry of Education to protest that the textbooks of "Knowing Taiwan" had the suspicion of being the preparation for "Taiwan Independence," and asked to put off the implementation of the new curriculum. The Minister of Education Wu Chin remained insist that the compilation of the textbooks of "Knowing Taiwan" had to be completed to supply the use of the 350,000 first graders of junior high schools by September 1997 (China News, 1997a; United Daily News, 1997a).

After the controversies was erupted, Prof. Huang Hsiu-cheng, the chairperson of the editing committee of "the Volume of History," emphasized that he had planed to invite the scholars with different political standpoints to make the curriculum standard, when served as the chairperson of the committee of "the Volume of History." Ministry of Educational approved the plan after he strove for it. Therefore, there was controversy regarding whether the status of Taiwan was "the Taiwan of Taiwan" or "the Taiwan of China" in the process of making the curriculum standard, because of different political standpoints among members. After 20 times of meeting, they finally compromised with each other and agreed on the consensus that described the history of Taiwan with objective and neutral term. And the textbooks compiled by the authors, Prof. Chang Sheng-yen and Prof. Wu Wen-hsin, who are amiable and have no clear-cut political standpoint should be objective and neutral (Ch'iu, 1996; Huang, 1996; Huang, 1997). He also declared seriously that the compilation of the textbooks was totally independent and objective. He never received any concern or hint from official sources, except the interventions from the legislators of different political parties and groups (United Daily News, 1997). He appealed that leave a space for the compilation committee to think independently and objectively. The political intervention to academy should stopped (Huang, 1997).

Prof. Du Cheng-sheng, the chairperson of "the Volume of Society," also pointed out that the controversies in the curriculum making process regarding the aspect of knowledge would be resolved based on experts' researches. The controversies regarding the aspect of value, especially the issue of whether reunified with or independent from mainland China, would resolve based on the perspective of the framework of the "concentric circles": native land (Taiwan), China, and the World. It emphasized that relationship on ethnicity and culture between Taiwan and mainland China is close, although Taiwan had departed from mainland China for more than 40 years. Taiwan is now an independent political entity, but it related to mainland China

and the world closely (Yang & Huang, 1996). As to the controversies regarding the textbooks, he pointed out that he could accept any criticism if there were any mistake can be proved with substantial evidence and reasonable explanation. But he wouldn't debate with anyone about the political standpoint (China Times, 1997).

As what I mentioned above, some of the main members of the curriculum committees declared that the compiling of the textbooks was based on the objective academic knowledge and the neutral political standpoints. However, the curriculum development process was inevitably influenced by the ideologies and would be controversial between different perspectives.

The first controversy regarding the textbooks of "Knowing Taiwan" was that what kind of national identity should be presented in the textbooks. Does Taiwan belongs to China? Are so called Taiwanese people also Chinese People? The subject "Knowing Taiwan" was criticized to be the preparation for "Taiwan Independence" by the legislator Lee Ching-hua with Chinese Identity (United Daily News, 1997d). It was criticized that it described the Chinese history as foreign history in the Volume of History. For example, it introduces the era of prehistory and then introduces the era of "international competition," excluding the era of China. It mentions about the systems of Han-Ren, rather than the systems of "China." It reflected somebody's specific ideology in all the examples above (United Daily News, 1997b). Besides, in the textbooks of "Knowing Taiwan," what kind of standpoint regarding whether being independent from or reunited with Mainland China presented in the textbooks should be. Should both of the two different standpoints display in the textbooks equally?

The second controversy was that, in the textbooks, with what kind of perspective we should introduce the history of Taiwan under the colonial ruling of Japanese from 1895 to 1945. Was Taiwan "governed by Japan" or "occupied by Japan?" Besides, It was seriously criticized that it over emphasized the establishment of the Japanese colonial ruling in Taiwan, such as "the sharply increasing of population," "the establishment of the idea of 'law-abiding,'" and "the establishment of modern health idea" in the textbooks (Wang, 1997). Prof. Wu Wen-hsing, one of the two authors of "the Volume of History," argued that the fact of Japan bringing the traditional Taiwanese society with the modernized system cannot be neglected (United Daily News, 1997c). However, it was criticized that it overlooked the destruction Japanese made to the Taiwanese society, such as the monopoly of opium (Wang; ACI, 1997, 15).

The third controversy was regarding the relationship between the historical viewpoint in the textbooks and the new ruling power in Taiwan. The chairperson Prof. Huang Hsiu-cheng emphasized that the consensus among the members in the

curriculum making committee was to describe the Taiwanese history with the objective and neutral term. (Ch'iu, 1996; Huang, 1996; Huang, 1997). One of the committee member Prof. Wu Wen-hsing emphasized that it is almost not any personal opinions after the group discussion in the editing committee (China Times, 1997a). Another member Prof. Huang Fu-san argued that there was not any specific historical viewpoint in the textbooks and what described inside was only facts (United Daily News, 1997b). However, those "objective and neutral standpoint" and "facts" actually reflected the perspective of the ruling power and aroused serious controversies. Chen Yin-chen (1997) argued that the textbook of History compiled by a nation is part of national history, serving as the tool to construct the national consciousness of the ruling status. The textbooks of "Knowing Taiwan" were not exceptions. Their natures are to construct new national identity and national consciousness, departing from China, for the imagined new nation- Taiwan, and to serving as a tool of the ruling KMT government (Chen, 1997).

Conclusions

From the analysis of the curriculum contents and political context, I found first that because of the change of political power structure in Taiwan, the ideology of "Chinese Identity" was gradually replaced by "Taiwanese Identity" in the curriculum development regarding national identity. After the *Emergency Decree* was abolished in 1987 and the former President Chiang Ching-kuo died in 1988, the society of Taiwan became more and more democratic through series of political movements putting in motion by the opposite party, DPP, composed almost by Taiwanese people. Simultaneously, the new leader of KMT, President Lee Teng-Hui with Taiwanese ethnic background, began to ally with Taiwanese political power to maintain KMT's ruling status, and the Mainlanders gradually lost their status in the core of power in KMT. Thus, the ideology of "Chinese Identity" in curriculum content lost its political base and legitimacy. Therefore, based on the new ideology regarding national identity, the "Knowing Taiwan" became one of the subjects for junior high schools.

Secondly, both the "Taiwanese Identity" and the "Chinese Identity" exist in the curriculum standards and textbooks. The issue about whether Taiwan should be reunited with or be independent from China remains controversial, and the P.R.C. remain claims military intimidation towards the movement of "Taiwan independence." The KMT government remains officially reject the claim of "Taiwan Independence" and remain recognize the identity to the geographical, historical, and cultural China, although it no longer insists that ROC is the only legitimate government of China.

Therefore, the ideology of "Chinese Identity" remains reflected in other subjects such as "History," "Geography" and "Civics and Morality" for the second graders of junior high schools.

Thirdly, in the interpersonal process of editing the textbooks, the curriculum decision-making was not only based on editing committee members' personal ideology, but also through arguments, negotiations and compromises among members with different political standpoints.

Fourthly, the controversies regarding the subject "Knowing Taiwan" erupted even before the textbooks were published. Some of the members of the curriculum committees declared that the compilation of the textbooks was based on the objective academic knowledge and the neutral political standpoints. However, curriculum development process was inevitably influenced by the ideologies and would be controversial between different perspectives. Thus, the textbooks of "Knowing Taiwan" not only faced the criticism from people with strong "Chinese Identity," but also the faced the criticism from people with "Taiwanese Identity" different from editors' personal "Taiwanese Identity" displayed in the textbooks.

Finally, the ideology of "Taiwanese Identity" seems to be basically constructed by the editing committee members' autonomous consciousness based on its legitimacy in current open society in Taiwan. However, since the "Taiwanese Identity" also became the base of new ruling power in KMT, what the students learned from the new subject "Knowing Taiwan" can still enforce the legitimacy of its ruling status. Thus, it is another form of political reproduction, although the ruling government can no longer control the ideologies directly regarding national identity in textbooks for its own political intention.

Implications

Based on the conclusions, the research has the following implications to social studies and civil education: Firstly, the new subject: "Knowing Taiwan" was constructed by the political and historical circumstances in Taiwan. It is necessary to reflect further on whether the government has the power to construct the national identity through the contents of "Knowing Taiwan." If so, it is necessary not only to discover the concealed power, to illuminate unreasonable ideology, but also to construct ideal curriculum contents of such a topic without unreasonable ideology.

Secondly, since the decision-making regarding national identity was also influenced greatly by personal ideology regarding national identity, the editing committee members have to reflect on their own political standpoint to avoid unreasonable ideology concealed in the curriculum development process.

Thirdly, in spite of the confusion of national identity in Taiwan, the curriculum committee members should take the responsibility to clarify the problem to reduce children's confusion. The selection of subject matters with the "Taiwanese Identity" can enhance children's identity with where they live. However, the curriculum committee members have to face the fact that the traditional culture in Taiwan comes mainly from China. It is important to clarify the relationship between Taiwanese Identity and Chinese Identity in the curriculum reasonably to reduce the confusion of student's national identity.

Finally, the group members should keep reflecting on the relationship between the "Taiwanese Identity" and the new political power in Taiwan. They have to check the ideology of new ruling power behind curriculum decision-making and not to become the dominant tool unconsciously.

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